1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

leader and also a participant in the fighting. Similarly, the prince Laufilitonga, before he became Tui Tonga, engaged in considerable campaigns against Taufaahau, who became the Tui Kanokupolu. So far as Tongan tradition goes there seems to be no record of a Tui Tonga engaging in warfare while in office.

In addition to the commander-in-chief, the commander, and the assistant war-chiefs of a force, the braves (*toa*) seem to have been important. Warriors of high repute were privileged to wear their hair in a style called *malumalu*, a fashion wherein the hair is allowed, or rather trained, to hang down over the forehead to such an extent as to virtually mask the eyes. When such a man entered the fight his enemies would say, "This must be a great warrior; I wonder whom he can be." Just as he met and engaged the enemy, the warrior would throw his head back, tossing his hair away from his eyes and so disclose his identity to the enemy. This element of mystery and startling disclosure gave the warrior a moral advantage.

Scouts preceded a Tongan army when it took the field. The wooden gong or drum called *lali* was used as an announcer of war and also to announce the taking of prisoners, special beats indicating to the listeners the nature of the news. (See 17, pp. 139, 140-143.)

Although no accounts of actual naval battles are extant, it is obvious that the transport of troops by sea was developed to a high degree. Besides the innumerable troop movements between the three Tongan groups there are traditional accounts of movements to other archipelagoes and islands. The famous cruise of Kauulufonua I to the various Tongan islands and then to Samoa, Uvea, and Futuna is a good example. Tongan troops in large numbers must have been transported overseas in order to subjugate Samoa in the time of the earlier Tui Tonga. Then there is evidence of attacks on Niue, certain of the Ellice Islands, and even the Gilbert Islands (22).

The Tongans placed great reliance in fortifications which usually comprised an encircling ditch, earth wall, and fence. On the low islands such fortresses were usually on level ground. In hilly islands advantage was taken of naturally strategic locations, as for example a ridge between two canyons. A fortress was called *kolo*, a word now applied to a modern village. Nowadays a fortress is called *kolotau* to distinguish it from an unfortified village. McKern (42) describes the various types of fortresses. The fortresses bore names, as did usually each of their gates.

The word *kapafoli* (to environ, to surround, to besiege) applies particularly to the Tongan practice of laying siege; *kapasia* (to be stormed, taken, besieged) refers to the attackers climbing the walls or forcing the gate of a fortress, a thing which seems to have been occasionally done. The storming of Kamba, Fiji, in 1853, by Tongan troops is a good example (54, pp. 363, 364) and illustrates also a customary type of boasting "that the troops

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1812-1845]

rified, and said, "Takai knows about the intended assassination." They tried to pacify Takai and took refuge with the priest and those whom he favored. 173 669

But Takai was satisfied and he said: "Tupoutoa, we did not come to Vavau to seek wealth, but as your warriors, and here are you preparing to assassinate us. I will sail for Otea, and if you have a man let him come and we will fight." And they loaded and sailed for Otea and waited there. And Vavau and Tupoutoa were more afraid than ever at what Takai had said. And they decided to try again for reconciliation with Takai. 726

They talked and talked and decided that Vuki should ask permission to sail with him to Haapai and Tonga, because they were afraid lest Takai should go to Haapai and destroy everything and kill the people. So Vuki went to Otea. And Takai granted Vuki's request and after about five days they left. Vuki went with them to Haapai. Takai did nothing there because of his love for Vuki. They stayed a very short time at Haapai, then left for Tonga. Two or three years after the war at Feletoa, Takai died, [presumably about 1815 or 1816], and his younger brother [Fae] ruled in his place at Pea.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU TUPOUTOA AND HIS SON TAUFAAHAU, 1812-1845[1]

I will not relate in this narrative the wars that were fought in former times, because that was the way of this foolish land, as though they ate the war as food. But we will talk about the war that was fought by the heathen. The war that Tupoutoa, the lord or father of Taufaahau, fought was waged during the time of a great epidemic called *ngangau* (pain in the head). That sickness was brought by a vessel from Fiji. The vessel's name was Uluvalu. The sickness raged badly in the three groups, Tonga, Haapai, and Vavau. It is said that they were not able to carry the dead away and bury them. It was at this time that the war came to the remnant of people that escaped. 173 669 164 731 726

The army faced from Hihifo towards the middle district of Tongatabu and it is said that the army was instructed by the chief Vaea of Houma to have the heads of their warriors bound with coconut fiber rope and fastened with a wedge, so that their heads should not be smashed with the club. The armies met at a fortress called Teekiu. Then a very strong army of the famous warrior Takai of Pea, came up behind them and the army of the Tui Kanokupolu was surrounded. Suddenly a great applause was heard and the king's warriors disputed and turned around. The people said that they had not applauded but that it was the gods that had applauded. Anyway, that was the way that the king's warriors knew that they were surrounded. Tupoutoa commanded that the bands of warriors should turn back to back so that the front lines should face the fortress and the back lines face the enemy at the rear. As they did so the armies clashed. They fought towards the fort, but the army at the back was pressing strongly on them, even though the warriors were not afraid, because they had confidence in Vunivalu's command, which was good. If they had been few in number and afraid, or if the king had not been there to lead, it could not have been done. This was the king of the family of Lolopaongo [Vahai] and Haa Vakatolo. The army of Takai was badly hit by the band of warriors at the back. The army facing the fort also did good work. It is said that Takai was badly wounded in this battle. He would have been killed had it not been for his brave warriors. After the battle Tupoutoa asked for a reconciliation, and they had peace. Each chief went with his own people and dwelt in his own fort, and Tonga was left to the rule of Tupoutoa. 726 173 669 [714] 173 726 669 [728]

There were wars that were fought at Vavau and which originated perhaps by the uprising of Vavau. After a time Tupoutoa became angry, collected the warriors of Tonga and went and fought Vavau and conquered it. He removed the chiefs and took

[1] Upon the request of J. Jiosia Hau, the scribe of Wellington Tupou-Malohi Ngu (King George II's mother's brother, who would have been king had he lived), this narrative has been dictated by Peter Vi (3).

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

ties against the enemy. The bows and arrows which before that period had been in use among the people of Tonga were of a weaker kind, and fitted rather for sport than war,—for the purpose of shooting rats, birds, &c. From the fierce and warlike people of those islands,[A] however, they speedily learned to construct bows and arrows of a much more martial and formidable nature; and soon became acquainted with a better form of the spear, and a superior method of holding and throwing that missile weapon. They also imitated them by degrees in the practice of painting their faces, and the use of a peculiar dress in time of war, giving a fierce appearance, calculated to strike terror into the minds of their enemies. These martial improvements were in their progress at the time of Captain Cook's arrival, but not in general practice; for having few or no civil dissensions among themselves, the knowledge of these things was confined principally to certain young chiefs and their adherents, who had been at the Fiji islands. Captain Cook describes some evolutions practised by the natives as being forms of war, and indeed they have that appearance; but they are to be considered rather as games and dances, which the Tonga people had learnt from the island of Nuha. None of the oldest natives could give any account of their first dis-

A [The Fiji Islands--Analyst]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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She had just been in the act of picking up a shell or something, as the shot struck her; when she screamed out, and springing two or three feet from the ground, fell into the sea. The people in general were rather glad that she was dead, as she used to break in upon religious ceremonies, and on other occasions, when they were drinking cava, and dance about to the annoyance of every body, sometimes with scarcely any clothes on, which is considered very indecent and disrespectful.

All things being now prepared for the invasion of Tonga, the gods were invoked; and the priests assured Finow of success*. The large canoes of Lefooga, about fourteen in number, were then launched, which, with Toobó Nuha's fleet from Vavaoo, made together about fifty sail. Orders were sent by Finow to all the Hapai islands to make the island of Namooca the place of general rendezvous. These fifty sail under the direction of Finow, four of the largest having each a carronade on board, proceeded towards the appointed place; but on account of contrary winds were obliged to put into Wiha. Here Finow took an opportunity to review his men, most of them being painted

* The ceremony of invocation, and the supposed inspiration of the priests, will be described hereafter, at a better opportunity.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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and drest after the warlike manner of the Fiji islands. They paraded up and down for some time, brandishing their clubs and spears, and exhibiting a sort of sham fight. Finow sat with several other chiefs in the house on the *malái**. Each warrior of note ran singly close up to Finow, and striking his club violently on the ground, cried out "this is the club for ——," mentioning the name of some individual enemy whom he meant particularly to seek out and engage; others running up in the same way, exclaimed, "Fear not, Finow; no sooner shall "we land at Tonga than here is the club with "which I will kill any one who dares to oppose "us." Finow and the chiefs thanked them for their sentiments of love and loyalty, and then he addressed them in a speech to the following purport: "Be brave in battle; fear not death: "it is far better to die in war than to live to "be assassinated at home, or to perish by a lingering disease."

After remaining a day and a night at this island, they again put to sea with the additional force of six canoes, and made sail for Namooca, where they arrived in a few hours. Here they

* The *malái* is a grass-plat, about three acres in extent, with a house on it, and is used for various public purposes, as in the present instance; there are generally four or five of them on each island. As Vavaoo is comparatively a large island, it has fourteen or fifteen.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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returned to the beach, where a large root of cava was brought to them as a present, by the chief of the consecrated place, on which they regaled.

During this time, the greater part of the forces in the canoes employed themselves in preparing for battle, again painting their bodies and faces after various fanciful forms. The enemy on shore were also in a state of preparation: they shouted the war-whoop, and ran up and down the beach with furious gestures; splashing up the water with their clubs, brandishing them in the air, flourishing their spears, and bidding bold defiance to their invaders.

Finow and his attendants having returned on board, the whole fleet proceeded to a neighbouring fortress called Nioocalofa, the strongest, though not the largest, in the whole island. As it will be proper to understand the usual form and construction of these Tonga fortresses, we shall give a general description of them, taking that of Nioocalofa as a model for the rest.

The fortress of Nioocalofa is situated on the western coast of the island, about one hundred yards distant from the water's edge, occupying about four or five acres of ground. It consists, in the first place, of a strong wall or fencing of reeds, something like wicker-work, supported

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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669 726 were stuck with spears, and beaten about with clubs by boys who followed the expedition to be trained to the horrors of war, and who delighted in the opportunity of gratifying their ferocious and cruel disposition. Every house that was not on fire was plundered of its contents; and the conquerors made a considerable booty of bales of gnatoo, mats, &c.*

669 727 In a few hours, the fortress of Nioocalofa, which had obstinately and bravely defended every attack for eleven years, or more, was thus completely destroyed. When Finow arrived upon the place, and saw several canoes which had been hauled up in the garrison, shattered to pieces by the shot, and discovered a number of legs and arms lying around, and about three hundred and fifty bodies stretched upon the ground, he expressed his wonder and astonishment at the dreadful effect of the guns. He thanked his men for their bravery, and Mr. Mariner and his companions in particular, for the great assistance rendered by them.

[714] * In this affair one of Finow's men, a native of Fiji, had made himself a sort of breast-plate of an earthenware fish-strainer, such as is laid in the bottom of dishes when fish is brought to table, which he had procured from the Port au Prince; but unluckily it happened that an arrow pierced him directly through the hole, which is commonly in the middle of such strainers: the wound laid him up eight months, and he never afterwards, in Mr. Mariner's time, was able to hold himself perfectly erect.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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general boxing-match; the men from the north of the island combating those from the south; till at length the men of the north drove their opponents entirely off the ground. On occasions of such fights the combatants are allowed to wear turbans, to resemble more nearly a real fight. It must here be observed that turbans are not allowed to be worn but in time of war, and then only by those who are going to battle, unless on occasions of formal rejoicings like the present, or at night-time by chiefs and matabooles, or by the common people when at work in the fields or in canoes. On all other occasions, to wear a head-dress would be disrespectful; for although no chief be present, yet some god may be at hand unseen. This custom is kept up with such strictness, that if a man were to wear a head-dress on other occasions, he would be sure to be knocked down by the first person he met who was a superior, and even, perhaps, if he were an equal. On occasions, when a turban is allowed to be worn, it must be removed from the head when a superior happens to approach (unless in time of actual battle); but it is usual for the superior to say to one who is not much inferior, "*toogoo ho fow*," keep on your *fow*,—as we would say, keep on your hat,—which compliment is generally accepted. The king used frequently to tell Mr.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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the yams being all planted,) should assemble within ten days at Lefooga, armed with clubs and spears, and supplied with a good store of provisions. Being all arrived within the time proposed, Finow issued orders to all his forces to prepare for a review. On the appointed day they assembled on a *malái*, to the amount of about six thousand; all armed, and painted, and dressed according to some warlike fancy. Finow then delivered a speech, in which he declared his opinion that the Tonga mode of warfare had, hitherto, been upon a very bad principle; and that instead of running forwards and then retreating, accordingly as they met with advantages or disadvantages, they ought rather to remain together in a body, and not to retreat on every trifling occasion, but to push forward with the most determined courage, and thus dash terror into the minds of their enemies; or by standing their ground with unconquerable steadiness, to strike them with astonishment at their fortitude and strength: for such he had heard was the way of fighting in England, (meaning Europe at large,) and it claimed his highest admiration:——" and," he added, " if any man sees the point of a spear " advancing upon his breast, he is not to run " back like a coward, but push forward upon it, " and at the risk of his life, deal destruction on

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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missed them, and they paddled away immediately for that part of the island where the great fortress was situated. As the expedition passed a point about five miles to the southward of the fort, a number of natives were seen on the beach, painted and dressed after the manner of war, and armed with clubs and spears; they menaced the visitors with every martial gesture, furiously splashing up the water with their clubs, and shouting the war-whoop loudly and repeatedly. When they had proceeded a little farther, there came up to them a canoe from the garrison, with a warrior named Ta e Tangata: he wore a turban* on his head, and stated that he came, with leave from Toe Oomoo, to enquire if any of Toobó Nuha's murderers were on board, for he was ready, he said, to fight them, and lay down his life in honour of that great and matchless chief. Finow, in answer, told him the purpose of his coming, and that there were none of Toobó Nuha's murderers on board, and as to himself, he was perfectly well disposed to make a peace, and, whatever his enemies

* It will be recollected, that turbans are only worn by daytime, when within sight of an enemy, &c. see p. 158. This man, therefore, came as an enemy. This head-dress may be considered a signal of defiance, or, at best, of independence and equality.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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712 strongly illuminated by the sun, represented to the imagination of Mr. Mariner the spears and javelins of ancient heroes, drawn up in battle [714] array. On the top of the banks a number of warriors, armed with clubs and spears, were running to and fro, with fine light streamers,* full thirteen feet long, attached to their heads and arms, which, floating in the wind, produced a most romantic effect.

484 The king and his matabooles being now re-
634 turned to their canoe, the expedition proceeded out of the inlet, and arrived shortly at a small island, on which they landed, and strip-[722] ped it of almost all its cava root. It is here proper to mention, that all the islands adjacent to Vavaoo were deserted by order of Toe Oomoo, that the people might be more safely situated in or near the fortress, in case of an invasion. The three canoes afterwards proceeded a little farther onward, and put in for the night at a small island, called Hoonga, about two miles from Vavaoo. The next morning they resumed their voyage, and arrived at Haano, the nearest of the Hapai islands, in the afternoon.

[824] * These streamers consist of the fine membrane stripped off from the under side of the cocoa-nut leaf.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
009 Tonga 009

Mulkaamair, who was the commander in chief, assembled all his forces on the spot where Dugonagaboola had been assassinated. They were arrayed in as warlike a manner as they could be, some with only the maro, with black faces and disfigured limbs, their hair cut close, except a bunch tied together, rising from the crown of the head, like a soldiers cockade. Gratitude, as well as attachment to Mulkaamair, retained me of course in his party. I might have stayed behind, but I was desirous of seeing the war, and of fighting myself; as I esteemed their warfare mere child's play. It was determined to proceed against the district of Aheefo, which was small in comparison of the rest; and to make an attack upon it at the same time, both by land and sea, with all our forces. The next morning therefore, the conchshells blew the alarm of battle, and thousands* repaired to the standard—Loogolala sailed with his fleet; and the principal army, of which I was one, marched forward about seventeen miles.

We soon arrived at Ardeo—the abode of the Missionaries, formerly my beloved companions, but

* The author may possibly appear to exaggerate the numbers; but it should be remembered that it being the time of the natche, or annual festival or offering of the first fruits—many natives of the surrounding islands, were collected together at Tongataboo.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

is I, Tubou Niua, that strike," and immediately shattered his skull with a tremendous blow from his club. He snatched up Tukuaho's adopted son, whom he wished to save, and rushed out of the house as Finau's guards ran in to kill the women just awakened. The alarm was now given. The frightened attendants tried to escape the unknown danger by flight to the bush, but in every road they were met by Finau's guards and struck down.

Hastily collecting their party, the assassins made for the beach and broke up all the canoes but those sufficient to transport them to the eastern end of the island. The sun rose at Mua upon a scene of bewilderment and confusion. Men from all parts of the island were crowding into the town; warriors, hastily armed, were blackening their faces for war; women were wailing over the dead; and old *matabules* went from group to group exhorting them to avenge the death of their chief. To Mulikihaamea—now the most important executive chief in the island after the dead king—they all looked to lead them against the murderers, whom they knew to be awaiting the turn of events at Hahake. The hopes of the Royalist party were centred in him, but he would take no decisive action, and the half-hearted expedition despatched against the rebels returned in the evening with the loss of half their number, and reported that Finau had sailed to Haapai for reinforcements. Three days later he returned with ten war-canoes carrying a large body of men. Thousands had now joined Mulikihaamea, who was expected to dispute Finau's landing; but, to the dismay of the Royalists, he went over with his whole force to Finau, and together they swept the country as

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

thusiasm. They had scarcely to ask for contributions—the emulation among their congregations filled the mission oil-tanks—and they, too, began to be astonished at their own moderation. As the king's advisers they now began to dabble in politics. They designed a Royal Standard with doves and crossed swords, and other un-Polynesian devices; they ordered a Crown and a Great Seal; they taught the officers of State to pace the beach in English military uniforms; they encouraged the women to disfigure themselves with bonnets and European dress. They had laboured hard, and if they now complacently accepted the blind adoration of their flock, it was but human nature.

But there was one among the new converts who was less blind than his teachers. One of the missionaries was leaving the group, and the villages for miles round assembled to take leave of him. A vast pile of mats, cloth, and other native property was heaped up before the smiling clergyman: the excitement was hysterical. Tungi, the latest convert, was curiously watching the scene with a companion by his side. "Uiliame," he said, "do you remember how they treated Mr—— when he came, how they stole his things and insulted him, and do you see them now? They are dying of love for him, Uiliame; yet I think that you and I will live to see the time when their love will be turned into hate. This will not last for long, Uiliame; their minds are too hot." Uiliame remembered these words twenty years later, when he saw an angry crowd assembled outside the mission-house demanding the bodies of the native Wesleyans who had taken refuge there, and he told the story as a proof of

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

band played our national anthem very creditably as we approached. While the rank and file numbered about thirty, as in my time, I noticed that the roll of officers had increased until they formed a third line nearly as close as that of the men: their uniforms were so spotless and correct that some of my companions mistook them for Europeans. We were ushered into the throne-room, where two rows of chairs were drawn up facing one another, each with a be-crowned armchair in the centre. On these, after the first greetings, we took our seats. I knew the room well, and it called up many memories, for here old King George had often received me informally, and all the state functions and receptions of foreign officials, which the old king disliked so heartily and underwent so cheerfully, had taken place. At an earlier date, when Mr. Baker had sought protection in the palace with his family, it had been Mrs. Baker's parlour, and from that epoch dated the fairy lights, wax flowers, and other incongruities. The faces of the king's suite were all familiar, for they had been my own colleagues when I was a Tongan like themselves. There was Fatafehi in his sober suit of black; Kubu, now swelled to the dignity of a sovereign's father-in-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

The deliberative assemblies of the chiefs were very stately affairs. Each sat in a circle, arranged according to the rank and precedence of those who composed it, where speeches were made by the authorized orators, and by some of the leading chiefs; after which, the ceremony of kava-drinking would be proceeded with. These meetings would often extend over several hours; and every part of the proceedings was governed and conducted according to well-known and rigid laws of etiquette. From these assemblies the knowledge of new enactments, or the arrangements adopted for any projects entertained by the chiefs, was circulated among the people at large by the *Matabules*.

We now pass on to a brief consideration of the knowledge of the Tonguese, as developed in their arts, manufactures, and customs. In estimating these, however, the fact must not be overlooked, that as their land yielded no metals, and but few minerals, the resources of the islands, for the production of manufactures, were extremely limited. Indeed, it may be asserted that they carried civilization, in this point, to the full extent of their feeble means. The credit must be awarded them, of displaying no small amount of ingenuity and skill in what they produced.

The warlike weapons of the Tonguese were few and simple. They consisted of spears, javelins, and clubs, made from various kinds of hard and heavy wood, capable of taking a high polish. In their hands, these were most effective weapons. They were also very clever in the use of bows and arrows, and slings. Defensive armour was seldom employed; and great ingenuity was displayed in painting and decorating the person, in preparation for an expected contest.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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A neatly-fashioned weapon, blackened skin, necklace of sharks' teeth, and a turban, symbolic of defiance and self-confidence in the face of the enemy, comprise this Tongan's war costume (1827).

'Oku ha lelei heni ai e fa'ahinga teunga 'o ha tangata tau 'i ono'aho. 'Oku ai e tui ko e ma'u mei he kau Fisi 'a e valivali 'uli'uli e kili. Ko e kahoa na'e ngaohi ia mei he nifo'i 'anga.

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To partake of the "harvest of the sea," early Tongan fishermen used lures and hooks (such as these) made from turtle shell, whale ivory, and mother-of-pearl shell. These old fishhooks belonged many years ago to Siosiua "Niukapu" Palefau from Tu'anikivale, Vava'u, and are preserved today as artifacts by his great-great-granddaughter, Tu'ifua 'Utoikamanu.

Na'e ngaue'aki 'e he kau tautai 'o ono'aho ha ngaahi mata'u na'e fa'u mei he 'uno 'o e fonu, hui'i tofua'a pe nga'esi fingota. Ko e ongo mata'u ko eni na'e ngaue'aki fuoloa ia 'e Niukapu (Siosiua Palefau) mei Tu'anikivale, Vava'u, pea 'oku kei tauhi ia he 'aho ni 'e hono mokopuna tolu ko Tu'ifua 'Utoikamanu.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

the dress of both men and Women is the same, and consists of one piece about two yards wide and two and a half long, or so long as to go once and a half round the waist, to which it is confind by a girdle or cord; it is double before and hangs down like a petticoat as low as the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment above the girdle is plaited into several large folds, so that there is cloth sufficient when unfolded to come over the head but this is very seldom done. This as to form is the general dress, but large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces and very often wear nothing but a petticoat made of the leaves of plants, or the Maro,[1] which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash, this they bring between the legs and wrap round the waist; but this last is chiefly confined to the men. In their great *Haiwas*, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made for the purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest dresses are those covered more or less with red feathers. When, or on what occation the Chiefs wear those large red feather bonnets I could never learn,[2] both men and women sometimes shade their faces from the Sun with little bonnits, made either of matting or other materials. They also wear Neclaces some of which are composed of many little neat trinkets made of bone, mother of pearl and tortise shell.[3]

Houses The Houses of these people are of various sizes and like those of Otahiete consists chiefly of a thatched roof supported by pillars and rafters desposed in a very judicious manner and the workman ship in many extremely neat, the floor is raised with earth smoothed and covered with strong thick Matting and kept very clean; they seldom eat in them, unless it rains. The most of them are inclosed on the weather Side and some more than two thirds round, with strong Mats or the branches of the Cocoanut tree plated or woven one into a nother; these they fix up edgeways and reach from the eaves to the ground and answers the purpose of a wall. A thick strong Mat about 2½ or 3 feet broad, bent into the form of a simicircle and set up upon its edge with the ends against the wall, like unto the the fender of a fire hearth, incloses a place for the Master and Mistress of the family to sleep in, the lady indeed spends most of her time in it,[4] the rest of

[1] Tongan *mala*.

[2] This head-dress, the *fau* or *faufau*, was worn during times of festival or high ceremony, or at the outset of a war expedition.

[3] '. . . both Sexes wear Necklaces made of Shells, bones, & berries, & sweet smelling flowers, & have two holes (generally in one ear only,) thro which they thrust a round piece of Tortoise Shell about 3 Inches long or reed or bone. The Women have rings on their fingers make of Tortoise Shell.'—King.

[4] Cf. King: 'The roads about this place [the neighbourhood of the Observatory] are

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Most of the people had left their habitations to go where the ships lay, and our guide, to show perhaps that he deriv'd his authority from a person superior to any of them, often went into their huts, examind what was in them & made no scruple to take what he wanted or throw the things down without. He also often stopt people that were carrying things to barter & took dress'd yams or cocoa nuts to eat, nay at one time took some fish from a poor old woman who was going to dress them and was probably her subsistence for the day, but after carrying them a little way he gave them to a person that was following us.

The island is not above seven miles long and in some places not more than two or three broad. The east side, which is expos'd to the trade wind, has a reef running to a considerable breadth from it on which the sea breaks with great violence. It is a continuation of this reef that joins it to Foa, which is not above half a mile from it, and is partly dry at low water so that the natives can walk from one island to the other. The shore itself is either a coral rock six or seven feet high or a sandy beach, but higher than the west side, which in general is not more than three or four feet above the level of the sea. This side forms a bending or sort of bay with a fine sandy beach its whole length, defended by several shoals without, but as the entrance in is difficult from shoals perhaps the spot where the ships lay is more convenient. We found very few people in this excursion as most of them were at the Ships.

TUESDAY 20th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. In the forenoon the Captain to gratify the curiosity of the inhabitants orderd a party of marines on shore with some from the Discovery to show them the method of using our fire arms. They seem'd well pleas'd with the firing and various motions which were made, though our soldiers were by no means examples of the best discipline. In their turn they exhibited a dance and excersizd their clubs, in which it was acknowledg'd by all they far outdid our people in exactness and dexterity.

In the evening we entertaind them with fire works, which luckily happen'd to be in excellent order, at which they express'd much satisfaction and a good deal of astonishment; especially at some water rockets which were admirable and gave us who had never seen any as much pleasure as the Indians could possibly receive. They compar'd the sparkles which fell from the sky rockets to falling stars, and were surpriz'd at the height of the smoke that remaind after they were spent for they suppos'd it absolutely remaind and became a cloud.

When we had finish'd they treated us in their turn with several

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

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304 PLATE 1a. 'The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Islands'. Engraving after W. Hodges.
782 PLATE 1b. *To'o nima*, finger sacrifice. Detail from 'The Landing at Middleburgh'.
292 PLATE 1c. Mourning mat. Funeral of Queen Sālote Tupou III, December 1965.
764 PLATE 2a. *Ta'ovala la*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 53.
765 PLATE 2b. *Kie fau*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 56.
285 PLATE 2c. *Sisi fale*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 61.
531 PLATE 3a. *Pulū tavake*, feather headdress. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (4672).
127 PLATE 3b. Feather headdress. Detail from a carved club. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (E33465).
293 PLATE 4a. *Fue kafa*, fly whisk. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 101.
714 PLATE 4b. Carving implements. i) shark tooth set in handle of wood; ii) European nail set in handle of bone. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 174 and 101a.
301 PLATE 5a. Whalebone breastplate. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 62.
535 PLATE 5b. Necklace of white shell and dark beads with ivory pieces. Pitt Rivers Museum, Foster 98.
534 PLATE 6a. 'A Night Dance by Women in Hapaee'. Engraving after Webber.
000 PLATE 6b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru cranial vault.
PLATE 7a. The Iwo Eleru skull viewed from above.
PLATE 7b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru mandible. Only one tooth remains in position.
PLATE 8. Pavagarh Dune, showing gentle windward slope, gullying and vegetation.

[Facing End Plate 1]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
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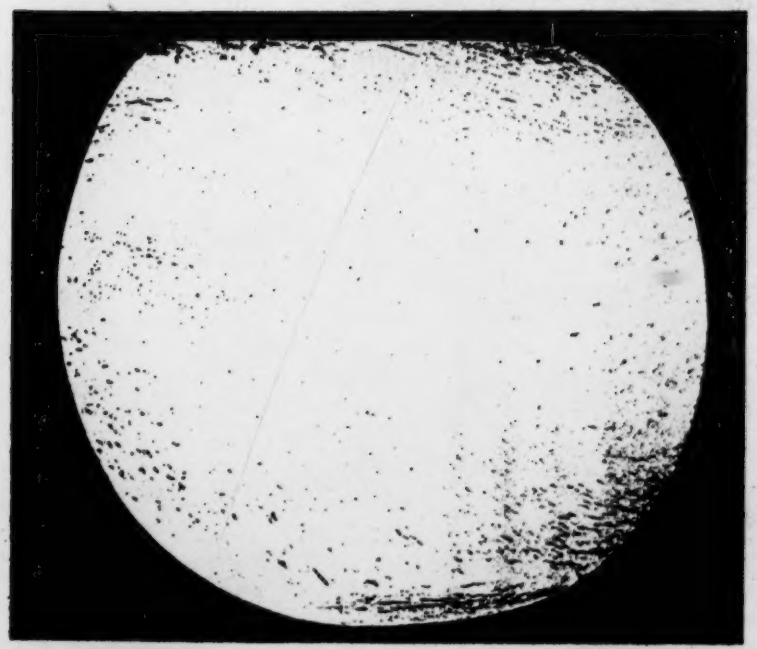

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127
237

PLATE 5a.

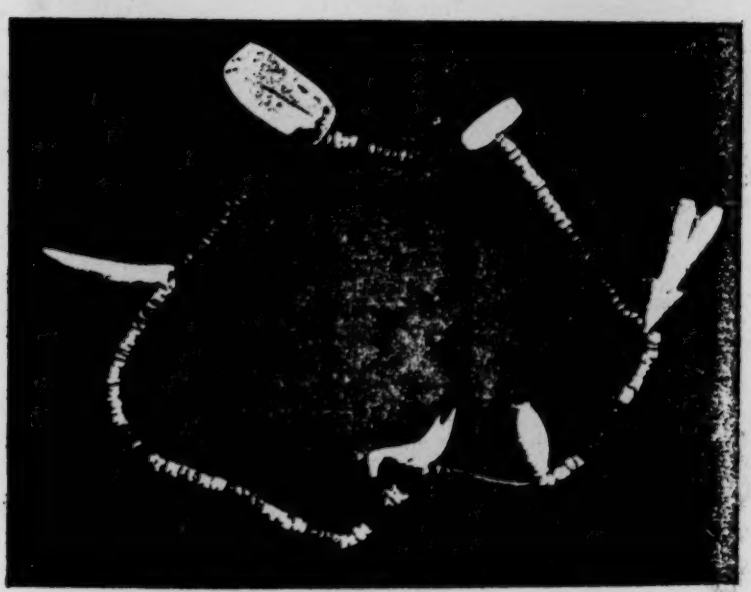

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PLATE 5b.

[End Plate 5]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

one of the natives sold a very small nail carefully fastened in a handle of hard wood, and tied to it by strings of coconut-core. This nail was undoubtedly left by Tasman, who was there in 1643, and consequently had been preserved 130 years, and is now lodged amongst other curiosities in the British Museum' (1778: 368). Perhaps there is such an implement in the British Museum with a nail lodged in hard wood; however, they have no record of it. The Pitt Rivers specimen has a handle of bone—a perceived Tongan alternative which probably indicated that its use was restricted to the higher ranks as we have also seen in the bone and wood handles of fly whisks (i.e., Bern and Pitt Rivers specimens). It is certainly possible that there were at least two such hafted nail implements, for Cook discovers on his third voyage, that,

> on my enquireing of Fattafee the King how they came by the Knowledge of iron and a small iron tool I saw here last Voyage, he told me it came from Onnuahtabutabu [Niuatoputapu], and on asking him how the people of that island came by it, he said one of them sold a Club for five Nails to a Ship which came to the island [Wallis in 1767], and that these five Nails after wards came to Tongatabu and were the first they had seen, so that the Iron they got from Captain Tasman must have been worn out and forgot long ago (Beaglehole 1967: 162).

Two implements almost identical to the Forster shark-tooth example exist in Dublin and another in Vienna. The Vienna specimen was noted in the first inventory of the collection as an engraving instrument from Tonga (Moschner 1955: 139), and has a bark cloth padding under the sennit binding—a very Tongan way of hafting, also used for the hafting of adzes. Finally, yet another specimen is engraved in Labillardière (1802: plate 32) with a very good accompanying description:

> we saw several [Tongans] who were employed in carving others [clubs] with shark's teeth fixed into the extremity of a piece of wood. We were astonished to see them quickly notch, with this sort of chisel, *casuarina* wood, notwithstanding its extreme hardness. Others already used with much dexterity some of the iron instruments which we had given them (1802: 147–8).

In this case there is no possibility of confusion with Tahiti, for Labillardière did not go to Tahiti.

One specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum (plate 5a)[A] appeared at first to be not Tongan at all and its use was even more mysterious—a large thin plate of whalebone with the edges curved and having three holes at one edge and labelled Number 62. Before the original Forster catalogue was found, it was labelled New Zealand. The *Catalogue*, however, lists Number 62 as 'a Shield made of Bone, probably of a cetaceous animal', and is designated as Tongan. In George Forster's account of the voyage we find the description and collection information: 'we bought a large flat shield or breast-plate, of a roundish bone, white and polished like ivory, about eighteen inches in diameter, which appeared to have belonged to an animal of the cetaceous tribe' (1777: 455). The Pitt Rivers specimen measures 18 inches and an almost indentical specimen exists in the Forster collection in Göttingen. There is also a larger and thinner one in the British Museum (no accession information or provenance). How or when these specimens were used, we are unfortunately not told. One could suggest, however, that this is a large and ostentatious rendering of a shell breast ornament in whale bone, which was a material of high status. The

A. [See End Plate 5, following p. 220--Analyst]